

Fulbright Urges U. S. Restraint In Race to Match Gains by Reds

By RUSSELL BAKER

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WASHINGTON, June 29—Senator J. W. Fulbright made a plea today for restraint and calm in Washington's present fire-alarm atmosphere.

The Arkansas Democrat, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, cautioned against the dangers of yielding to emotional demands for matching immediately Communist victories in Cuba and Laos and in space.

Basic United States policies, he said in a Senate speech, remain "correct and unassailable" in spite of "occasional lapses and departures" from the philosophy that inspires them. But, he added, these policies can succeed only if the nation maintains the "style" of performance expected of it as the international leader of the democratic cause.

"Cuba, Laos, the Soviet communist—none of these by itself is a threat to our national security, or to the long-term success of our policies," he said.

"But by exaggerating their significance and reacting to them injudiciously, we disfigure our national style and undermine our policies."

This was a speech that Mr. Fulbright has been contemplating for several weeks. It reflected the mood of the advice he gave White House in when he opposed the invasion of Cuba and it conveyed his own concern over the subsequent demands for harsh countermeasures.

When Mr. Fulbright rose to speak this afternoon the Senate

floor was largely abandoned. Those present were eager to get on with other work and in no mood to listen. Mr. Fulbright read a few paragraphs and inscribed the rest in the record.

In the wake of shock, confusion and frustration left by "unmistakable blows to the prestige" of the country during the last two months, he said, many Americans seemed to be drawing "the wrong conclusion" about their world position.

There were demands that the United States "not hesitate to commit its strength to the active defense of its policies anywhere outside the Communist empire," he said.

"This is dangerous doctrine; nothing would please Communist leaders more than to draw the United States into costly commitments of its resources to peripheral struggles in which the principal Communist powers are not themselves directly involved."

'Wisdom' Called Need

As a world leader, Mr. Fulbright went on, the nation must recognize that after years of having seen its position steadily erode, it could no longer "afford errors."

"Henceforth, we must endow our actions with greater wisdom, judgment and consistency than has been the case in recent years," he said, "this is a large order. We are caught up in a swirl of events. Wisdom and judgment derive from reflective thought. It is difficult to bring these qualities to bear on events that often develop with bewildering speed.

"The answer, of course, is policy. We must develop policies against which we can properly evaluate our initiatives and our responses to critical events. We must also develop style.

"It is style—our performance as a nation and a great power—that determines the credibility of our policies. In the present struggle, style is as important as power."

Since World War II, he said, basic United States policy has been "clear to us" but occasionally "blurred in the view of others by our diplomatic performance."

These "lapses" in style, he said, included the equivocal position of the United States during the mid-Nineteen Fifties on neutralism; the "impetuous withdrawal" of support for Egypt's Aswan Dam project; the heavy emphasis on "massive retaliation" and the Cuban invasion.

In fact, he said, there is a "double standard" in international affairs that compels the United States to behave better than the Soviet Union.

"It is suggested with some frequency that United States policies would be improved by an infusion of the more mischievous tactics employed by the Communists, that with some application we could beat the Communists at their game," he said.

"This, I think, totally misses



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Senator J. W. Fulbright

the point. That fact is that our greatest strength, indeed, our greatest asset in the struggle, is this double standard.

"Ours is a permissive system, challenged by one that is totalitarian. Our system guarantees certain basic rights to the individual and it is these that have made the United States the focus of man's best hope."

It is popular to argue that "the fire spread by communism can only be fought effectively with fire," he said.

"I disagree," he added. "The United States must remain strong and firm. But the United States, in order to prevail, must also help others toward the fulfillment of their own highest purposes."